

Message Text

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EXDIS

THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE SENT TO SECSTATE INFO ATHENS NICOSIA

DTG O R 030943Z JUN 75 FM ANKARA

QUOTE

CONFIDENTIAL ANKARA 4301

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

DEPARTMENT PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY AND ELSEWHERE AS
DESIRED

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, TU, GR, CY

SUBJECT: TURK REACTION TO GREEK TURKISH MEETINGS IN BRUSSELS

REF: SECTO 02067

1. IN ABSENCE OF CAGLAYANGIL AND TEZEL (BOTH OF WHOM LEFT FOR
TEHRAN WITH PRESIDENT KORUTURK ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTER
RETURNING TO ANKARA FROM BRUSSELS), I SPOKE WITH ECMEL
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BARUTCU, MFA DIRECTOR OF GREEK CYPRUS AFFAIRS, ON MONDAY,
JUNE 2, ABOUT GOT REACTION TO THE GREEK TURK BRUSSELS DIALOGUE.

2. BARUTCU SAID HE HAD NOT SEEN A RECORD OF THE MEETING

BETWEEN THE TWO PRIMINS AND THAT CAGLAYANGIL AND GOTTEN AWAY BEFORE BARUTCU AND OTHERS COULD GET A REAL FILL IN. NEVERTHELESS, BARUTCU SAID HE KNEW ENOUGH OF WHAT HAD TRANSPIRED TO BE VERY PLEASED WITH THE OUTCOME. HE SAID IT WAS ALL IN THE REALM OF ATMOSPHERICS -- "ONLY ATMOSPHERICS, NOTHING CONCRETE WAS DECIDED ON" -- BUT THAT ATMOSPHERICS WERE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT AT THIS STAGE AND THESE HAD DEVELOPED VERY WELL. HE SAID THE GREEKS SEEMED EVEN MORE PLEASED BY THE POSITIVE AND CONCILIATORY TONE OF THE MEETINGS THAN THE TURKS. (IN THIS CONNECTION, BARUTCU SAID THAT SOME OF THE GREEK DELEGATION HAD APPARENTLY COME TO BRUSSELS GENUINELY CONCERNED THAT THE TURKS HAD WAR ON THEIR MINDS.) BUT BARUTCU MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WAS NOT ONLY THE GREEKS WHO WERE PLEASED BY THE MEETING. THE TURKS WERE, TOO.

3. THROUGHOUT OUR CONVERSATION, BARUTCU KEPT EMPHASIZING, HOWEVER, THAT THE GOT WAS IN A MUCH WEAKER POSITION TO MAKE A CYPRUS PEACE. HIS REFERENCE WAS TO DEMIREL'S ENCUMBERED SITUATION AT HOME, AND HE SAID THAT A NUMBER OF THE GREEK OFFICIALS HE DEALT WITH FULLY UNDERSTOOD THIS AND CONCEDED THAT THEY WERE IN A STRONGER POSITION THAN WERE THE TURKS, GOVERNMENTALLY, TO GO AHEAD. WITH THIS AS THE PREFACE, BARUTCU KEPT CONSTANTLY COMING BACK TO WHAT HAS BECOME THE TURK PARTY LINE; NAMELY, THAT BECAUSE OF DEMIREL'S WEAK POSITION, THE GREEKS MUST, IN EFFECT, MAKE THE FIRST MOVE. BARUTCU SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT DEMIREL WOULD TRY TO MAKE A PEACE BUT FOR THIS PROCESS TO START, IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT THE GREEKS GIVE HIM A PROPOSITION THAT HE COULD TAKE BACK AND TRY TO SELL TO THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS HERE IN ANKARA. WHAT WAS NEEDED, BARUTCU SAID, WAS A PROPOSAL FROM THE GREEKS WHICH WOULD SPECIFICALLY SAY THAT THE BIZONAL SOLUTION WOULD BE ACCEPTED IN RETURN FOR A SPECIFIED PERCENTAGE OF TERRITORY-RETURN BY THE TURKS. I COUNTERED BY SAYING IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT TURKEY END ITS ISOLATION IN WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION BY BECOMING FULL PARTICIPANTS, NOT JUST RECIPIENTS, IN A NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

4. I THEN SPOKE ALONG LINE YOU REQUESTED, SECTO 02067, EMPHASIZING CONFIDENTIAL

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THE NEED FOR TURKEY PROMPTLY TO GET INTO MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS REGARDING TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS. I SAID THAT THE SITUATION BARUTCU WAS DESCRIBING WAS THE CLASSIC CHICKEN AND EGG SITUATION, AND WHY, I ASKED, COULDN'T TWO APPROPRIATELY DESIGNATED GREEKS AND TURKS GET OFF VERY PRIVATELY IN A CORNER AND COME UP WITH A PACKAGE DEAL WHICH DEMIREL COULD THEN FLOAT BACK IN ANKARA? BARUTCU WAS ADAMANT THAT IT COULD NOT RPT NOT BE DONE THIS WAY, OUR CONVERSATION THEN ENDED WITH HIS URGING ME TO GET THE USG TO PERSUADE THE GREEKS TO COME FORWARD WITH A PROPOSAL, AND WITH MY EMPHASIZING THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL FOR THE TURKS NOT TO CONTINUE TO PACE THEMSELVES IN THEIR CURRENT "STAND PAT" POSITION WHICH WAS SO DAMAGING TO THEIR INTERESTS IN

WORLD PUBLIC OPINION.

5. COMMENT: JUST AS FOREGOING MESSAGE WAS TO BE DISPATCHED I RECEIVED JACK KUBISCH'S VALUABLE REPORT ON HIS DEBRIEFING BY BITSIOS. THIS, IT SEEMS TO ME, FULLY CONFIRMS "CHICKEN AND EGG" NATURE OF SITUATION WHICH WE CONTINUE TO BE CONFRONTED WITH. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES I AM WONDERING, THEREFORE, WHETHER

EMBASSY ATHENS THINKS IT WOULD BE FEASIBLE FOR USG TO SUGGEST TO CARAMANLIS-BITSIOS THAT, AS AN EFFORT TO ACCOMMODATE DEMIREL, THEY MAKE A PROPOSAL TO THE TURKS WHICH WOULD INDICATE GREEK-CYPRIOT ACCEPTANCE OF THE BI-ZONAL PRINCIPLE IF THE TURKS WILL ACCEPT THE RESTORATION TO THE GREEKS OF A SPECIFIC PERCENTAGE OF CYPRIOT TERRITORY CURRENTLY IN TURKISH HANDS. IN THE GREEK PROPOSAL, THAT PERCENTAGE WOULD BE SPECIFIED AND AS AN OPENER IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IT WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE TO BE A MORE AMBITIOUS FIGURE (ALTHOUGH I WOULD HOPE NOT UNREALISTICALLY SO) THAN WHAT THE GREEKS MIGHT ULTIMATELY SETTLE FOR. IF THE GREEKS WOULD MAKE SUCH AN OFFER, HOWEVER, WE COULD THEN GO TO WORK IN ANKARA TO GET A COUNTER-RESPONSE WHICH, IF WE COULD GET IT, WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY NAME A LOWER PERCENTAGE FIGURE FOR TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS, BUT IN THIS WAY WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO GET THE BARGAINING PROCESS UNDER WAY. IF EMBASSY ATHENS DOES NOT THINK THAT SUCH A GREEK INITIATIVE IS FEASIBLE THEN IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE SHOULD PRESS, THROUGH MESSAGES TO BOTH FOREIGN MINISTERS, FOR SOMETHING LIKE THE TWO-MEN-OFF-IN-A-CORNER APPROACH, DESPITE TURK SKITTISHNESS CONCERNING THIS ALTERNATE COURSE.

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6. AS A SECOND COMMENT, I AM OF COURSE TROUBLED BY THE CARAMANLIS-BITSIOS ATTITUDE ON THE EMBARGO. AS FAR AS GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS ARE CONCERNED, THE EMBARGO CUTS TWO WAYS. IT IS TRUE THAT THE TURKS WOULD LIKE TO SEE AID RESTORED, THE EMBARGO LIFTED AND RELATIONS WITH GREECE IN A STATE WHERE THE TURKS DO NOT HAVE TO SPEND SO MUCH TIME ON THEM. THIS IS A PROPELLENT TO FINDING A SOLUTION TO THEIR PROBLEMS, BUT EVERY DIPLOMAT THAT I HAVE TALKED WITH HERE IN TURKEY SHARES MY CONVICTION THAT THE CUT-OFF ACTUALLY IS AN INHIBITION TO A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT NOT, AS CARAMANLIS AND BITSIOS ASSERT, THE OTHER WAY AROUND.

7. MY KEY POINT IN THIS REGARD HOWEVER IS THAT WHILE THE EMBARGO HINDERS RATHER THAN HELPS IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION IT IS NOT THE MAJOR FACTOR, ADVERSE OR OTHERWISE, ON THAT PARTICULAR

STATE. AS YOU ARE AWARE, THERE ARE MANY OTHER INHIBITING ELEMENTS IN THE GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP WHICH JOIN IT THERE. WITH RESPECT TO US-TURKISH RELATIONSHIPS, HOWEVER, THE SITUATION IS VERY DIFFERENT. HERE THE EMBARGO IS NOT A MINOR FACTOR JOINED BY MANY OTHER-- IT IS THE CRITICAL AND OVERRIDING ONE WHICH THREATENS TO DO MASSIVE DAMAGE TO A

FUNDAMENTAL US SECURITY RELATIONSHIP. IN OTHER WORDS, FROM THE GREEK POINT OF VIEW THEY ARE PLAYING A THEIR-GUTS-AND-OUR-BLOOD GAME BY PURSUING AT MINOR IMMEDIATE COST TO THEMSELVES A POLICY OF MAJOR POTENTIAL COST TO US.

8. AS CARAMANLIS-BITSIOS HAVE BEEN VERY FRANK IN THEIR REMARKS TO YOU ABOUT THE EMBARGO, YOU MIGHT WISH TO INCLUDE THESE POINTS IN ANY FOLLOW-ON COMMENTS YOU MAY BE MAKING TO THEM. IN ANY EVENT, THIS ANALYSIS SHOULD BE, IT SEEMS TO ME, THE ESSENCE OF OUR PRESENTATION TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

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